

Message Text

SECRET

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INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
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S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 03 GENEVA 06297

EXDIS

USSALTTWO

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PARM
SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR EARLE'S STATEMENT OF APRIL 26, 1978
(SALT TWO-1710)

- STATEMENT BY AMBASSADOR EARLE
- APRIL 26, 1978

MR. MINISTER:

- I

TODAY I WILL ADDRESS THE QUESTION OF THE LIMITATION
OF NEW TYPES OF ICBMS. OVER THE PAST SIX MONTHS OUR
DELEGATIONS HAVE GIVEN CONSIDERABLE ATTENTION TO THIS
QUESTION. IN THIS CONNECTION, THE UNITED STATES HAS
REVIEWED AND CAREFULLY CONSIDERED THE VIEWS OF THE SOVIET
SIDE. TODAY THE UNITED STATES WILL MAKE A REVISED
PROPOSAL ON THIS SUBJECT, WHICH I BELIEVE CONSTITUTES THE
BASIS FOR A MUTUALLY SATISFACTORY RESOLUTION OF THIS
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ISSUE.

- II

I WILL FIRST ADDRESS THE BASIC UNDERTAKING WITH
RESPECT TO THE FLIGHT-TESTING AND DEPLOYMENT OF NEW TYPES
OF ICBMS. IN THE VIEW OF THE UNITED STATES ICBMS ARE THE

MOST DESTABILIZING ELEMENT IN THE STRATEGIC BALANCE WHICH EXISTS BETWEEN THE SIDES, AND THEREFORE A BAN ON THE FLIGHT-TESTING AND DEPLOYMENT OF NEW TYPES OF ICBMS DURING THE PERIOD OF THE PROTOCOL WOULD CONTRIBUTE TO MAINTAINING THIS STRATEGIC BALANCE. IN PRESENTING ITS REVISED PROPOSAL THE UNITED STATES BELIEVES THAT THERE SHOULD BE A SPECIFIC DATE ESTABLISHED AS A POINT OF REFERENCE IN DEFINING NEW TYPES OF ICBMS. ACCORDINGLY, THE UNITED STATES PROPOSES THE FOLLOWING REVISED LANGUAGE FOR PARAGRAPH 1 OF ARTICLE II OF THE PROTOCOL:

- PARAGRAPH 1 OF ARTICLE II OF THE PROTOCOL

1. EACH PARTY UNDERTAKES NOT TO FLIGHT-TEST OR DEPLOY NEW TYPES OF ICBMS, THAT IS, TYPES OF ICBMS NOT FLIGHT-TESTED AS OF APRIL 15, 1978.

SELECTION OF A SPECIFIC DATE WOULD ESTABLISH PRECISELY THE EFFECTIVE PERIOD OF THE LIMITATION. IT WOULD PERMIT EACH SIDE TO CONTINUE THOSE PROGRAMS WHICH HAVE REACHED THE FLIGHT-TESTING PHASE AS OF THAT DATE. AT THE SAME TIME IT WOULD FORECLOSE THE POSSIBILITY THAT ANY FLIGHT-TESTS SUBSEQUENT TO APRIL 15, 1978, COULD AFFORD AN ADVANTAGE TO ONE SIDE.

I NOW WILL TURN TO THE QUESTION OF THE CRITERIA TO
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BE USED FOR DETERMINING WHETHER A PARTICULAR ICBM IS OF AN EXISTING TYPE OR IS OF A NEW TYPE. THE UNITED STATES BELIEVES THAT, IF THERE ARE SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES BETWEEN AN ICBM WHICH IS FLIGHT-TESTED BY A SIDE AFTER APRIL 15, 1978, AND THOSE ICBMS WHICH HAVE BEEN FLIGHT-TESTED BY THAT SIDE AS OF THAT DATE, THEN THAT ICBM SHOULD BE CONSIDERED TO BE A NEW TYPE OF ICBM FOR THE PURPOSES OF THE LIMITATION OF PARAGRAPH 1 OF ARTICLE II OF THE PROTOCOL. IF THE ICBM IN QUESTION IS SIGNIFICANTLY DIFFERENT AS A WHOLE, OR IF IT IS SIGNIFICANTLY DIFFERENT IN ITS INDIVIDUAL BOOST STAGES OR IN WHAT THE UNITED STATES CALLS ITS POST-BOOST VEHICLE, THEN THAT ICBM SHOULD BE CONSIDERED TO BE AN ICBM OF A NEW TYPE.

THE UNITED STATES ALSO BELIEVES THAT, AS AN INTEGRAL PART OF THE LIMITATION ON NEW TYPES OF ICBMS, THERE SHOULD BE RESTRICTIONS ON THE MAXIMUM NUMBER OF REENTRY VEHICLES WITH WHICH ICBMS OF EACH EXISTING TYPE COULD BE EQUIPPED. IN PARTICULAR, THERE SHOULD BE NO INCREASE IN THE NUMBER OF REENTRY VEHICLES ABOVE THE MAXIMUM NUMBER WITH WHICH ICBMS OF EACH EXISTING TYPE HAVE BEEN FLIGHT-TESTED AS OF APRIL 15, 1978. FURTHER, CONSISTENT WITH THIS OBLIGATION,

THERE SHOULD BE A LIMITATION ON THE MINIMUM WEIGHT OF THE INDIVIDUAL REENTRY VEHICLES WITH WHICH ICBMS OF EACH EXISTING TYPE COULD BE EQUIPPED.

IN VIEW OF THE FOREGOING CONSIDERATIONS, THE UNITED STATES PROPOSES THE FOLLOWING REVISED LANGUAGE FOR AN AGREED STATEMENT TO PARAGRAPH 1 OF ARTICLE II OF THE PROTOCOL:

- AGREED STATEMENT
TO PARAGRAPH I OF ARTICLE OF THE PROTOCOL

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THE PARTIES AGREE THAT THE TERM "NEW TYPES OF ICBMS" IN PARAGRAPH 1 OF ARTICLE II OF THE PROTOCOL REFERS TO ANY ICBM WHICH IS DIFFERENT FROM THOSE ICBMS FLIGHT-TESTED AS OF APRIL 15, 1978, IN ONE OR MORE OF THE FOLLOWING RESPECTS:

(A) THE NUMBER OF STAGES, THE LENGTH, THE LARGEST DIAMETER, THE LAUNCH-WEIGHT, OR THE THROW-WEIGHT, OF THE MISSILE;

(B) THE INITIAL WEIGHT, THE TYPE OF PROPELLANT (THAT IS, LIQUID OR SOLID), OR THE TOTAL IMPULSE, OF ANY OF ITS STAGES;

(C) THE INITIAL WEIGHT, THE TYPE OF PROPELLANT (THAT IS, LIQUID OR SOLID), OR THE TOTAL IMPULSE, OF A SELF-CONTAINED DISPENSING MECHANISM OR OTHER

APPROPRIATE DEVICE FOR TARGETING ONE REENTRY VEHICLE,
OR FOR RELEASING OR FOR DISPENSING AND TARGETING
TWO OR MORE REENTRY VEHICLES.
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THE PARTIES ALSO AGREE THAT, IN CONNECTION WITH THE
OBLIGATION OF PARAGRAPH 1 OF ARTICLE II OF THE
PROTOCOL, EACH PARTY UNDERTAKES NOT TO FLIGHT-TEST
OR DEPLOY AN ICBM OF A TYPE FLIGHT-TESTED AS OF
APRIL 15, 1978, WHICH HAS A NUMBER OF REENTRY
VEHICLES GREATER THAN THE MAXIMUM NUMBER OF REENTRY
VEHICLES FLIGHT-TESTED ON AN ICBM OF THAT TYPE AS
OF THAT DATE, OR WHICH HAS A REENTRY VEHICLE THE
WEIGHT OF WHICH IS LESS THAN THE WEIGHT OF THE
LIGHTEST REENTRY VEHICLE FLIGHT-TESTED ON AN ICBM
OF THAT TYPE AS OF THAT DATE.

THIS PROPOSAL REPRESENTS A SIGNIFICANT REVISION IN
THE POSITION OF THE UNITED STATES WITH RESPECT TO THE
CHANGES WHICH A SIDE WOULD BE PERMITTED TO MAKE TO ITS
ICBMS OF EXISTING TYPES. FOR EXAMPLE, THIS PROPOSAL
CONTAINS NO LIMITATIONS ON CHANGES TO GUIDANCE SYSTEMS.
NOR DOES IT CONTAIN LIMITATIONS ON CHANGES TO PENETRATION
AIDS. NOR DOES IT CONTAIN LIMITATIONS ON REENTRY
VEHICLES THEMSELVES, BUT ONLY ON THEIR NUMBERS (ASIDE FROM
THE LIMITATION ON THE MINIMUM WEIGHTS OF REENTRY VEHICLES).

THE UNITED STATES FURTHER BELIEVES THAT THE SIDES
SHOULD BE PERMITTED TO MAKE SOME CHANGES IN THOSE COM-
PONENTS WHICH ARE SUBJECT TO LIMITATIONS TO ALLOW, INTER
ALIA, FOR PRODUCTION CHANGES AND MINOR DESIGN CHANGES
NECESSARY TO MAINTAIN THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THEIR ICBM
FORCES. IN THIS CONNECTION, IN ORDER TO MAKE THE
ALLOWANCE FOR SUCH CHANGES PRECISE, THE UNITED STATES
PROPOSES THE FOLLOWING COMMON UNDERSTANDING TO PARAGRAPH 1
OF ARTICLE II OF THE PROTOCOL:

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- (FIRST) COMMON UNDERSTANDING
- TO PARAGRAPH 1 OF ARTICLE II OF THE PROTOCOL

THE SIDES AGREE THAT THE NEGOTIATING RECORD REFLECTS
THE COMMON UNDERSTANDING THAT, AS USED IN THE AGREED
STATEMENT TO PARAGRAPH 1 OF ARTICLE II OF THE

PROTOCOL, THE TERM "DIFFERENT," REFERRING TO LENGTH, DIAMETER, LAUNCH-WEIGHT, THROW-WEIGHT, INITIAL WEIGHT, AND TOTAL IMPULSE, MEANS A DIFFERENCE IN EXCESS OF FIVE PERCENT.

THE UNITED STATES ALSO RECOGNIZES THAT A SIDE MIGHT, BECAUSE OF OPERATIONAL CONSIDERATIONS, WANT TO FLIGHT-TEST OR DEPLOY ICBMS OF AN EXISTING TYPE WITH LESS THAN THE MAXIMUM NUMBER OF REENTRY VEHICLES OR PENETRATION AIDS WITH WHICH ICBMS OF THAT TYPE HAD BEEN FLIGHT-TESTED PREVIOUSLY. THE UNITED STATES BELIEVES THAT SUCH FLEXIBILITY SHOULD BE PERMITTED. ACCORDINGLY, THE UNITED STATES PROPOSES THE FOLLOWING COMMON UNDERSTANDING TO PARAGRAPH 1 OF ARTICLE II OF THE PROTOCOL:

- (SECOND) COMMON UNDERSTANDING
- TO PARAGRAPH 1 OF ARTICLE II OF THE PROTOCOL

THE SIDES AGREE THAT THE NEGOTIATING RECORD REFLECTS THE COMMON UNDERSTANDING THAT THE LIMITATIONS WITH RESPECT TO LAUNCH-WEIGHT AND THROW-WEIGHT, PROVIDED FOR IN PARAGRAPH 1 OF ARTICLE II OF THE PROTOCOL AND THE AGREED STATEMENT AND THE PRECEDING COMMON UNDERSTANDING THERETO, DO NOT PRECLUDE THE FLIGHT-TESTING OR THE DEPLOYMENT OF ICBMS EQUIPPED WITH NUMBERS OF REENTRY VEHICLES OR PENETRATION AIDS LESS THAN THE MAXIMUM NUMBERS OF REENTRY VEHICLES AND

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PENETRATION AIDS WHICH HAVE BEEN FLIGHT-TESTED ON AN ICBM OF THAT TYPE AS OF APRIL 15, 1978, EVEN IF THIS RESULTS IN A DECREASE IN LAUNCH-WEIGHT OR THROW-WEIGHT IN EXCESS OF FIVE PERCENT.

- III

MR. MINISTER, THIS PROPOSAL OF THE UNITED STATES HAS TAKEN INTO CONSIDERATION THE CONCERNS EXPRESSED BY THE SOVIET DELEGATION AND PROVIDES A SATISFACTORY RESOLUTION OF THE ISSUE OF DEFINING NEW TYPES OF ICBMS. IT PERMITS ADEQUATE FREEDOM FOR THE SIDES TO PURSUE THOSE ACTIVITIES NECESSARY FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THEIR ICBM FORCES, WHILE AT THE SAME TIME RETAINING SUFFICIENT VERIFIABLE RESTRICTIONS ON CHANGES TO EXISTING ICBMS TO MAKE MEANINGFUL THE LIMITATIONS ON NEW TYPES OF ICBMS. EARLE

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